

THE CIVIL WAR AND SOME OF ITS PRELUDES

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Lecture I

TRANSITION FROM POLITICS TO WAR

Movement for secession

- 1 Causes and motives.
 - a* Fundamental and secondary.
 - b* False or specious.
- 2 Active campaign.
 - a* Conspiracy of southern office-holders (Appendix A).
 - National ; cabinet and congressional.
 - State ; governors and others.
 - b* Special session of southern legislatures.
 - Called by proclamations.
 - Voted to organize for state defense.
 - Issued calls for secession conventions.
 - c* First set of conventions, Dec. 20, 1860 — Feb. 1, 1861.
 - Why not by popular vote?
 - Opposition to secession in various states.
 - The ordinance ; nature and meaning.
 - d* How popular sentiment was aroused.
- 3 Reorganization of seceded states.

Formation of the confederacy

- 1 Preliminary steps.
 - a* Delegates authorized by secession conventions.
 - b* Convention urged by conspirators at Washington.

... president.
... preparations.

Confederacy to control ports, arsenals, public
establishments.

100,000 volunteers and \$15,000,000 voted.

d Commissioners to Washington and to slave states
not yet seceded.

Border slave states

- 1 Why they did not secede at once.
 - a* Peculiar condition of population.
 - b* Geographic position and its significance.
- 2 Attitude of their governors.
- 3 Why some seceded and others did not.

Conspiracy at Washington (Appendix A)

- 1 Influence over President Buchanan.
 - a* Seen in his message to congress.
 - b* In refusal to protect United States property in
rebel states.
- 2 Disorganization of departments.
- 3 Plan of southern congressmen.
- 4 Threatened seizure of Washington and Lincoln.
 - a* Purpose and plan.
 - b* Measures taken to prevent it.

The north's policy of conciliation

- 1 Attitude toward seceding states.
 - a* Favors congressional efforts to compromise.
 - b* Sends delegates to the peace convention.
 - c* Resolutions of state legislatures.
 - d* Public meetings in northern cities.
- 2 New administration.
 - a* Lincoln's inaugural.
 - b* Composition of cabinet.

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Topics for papers

- 1 What do you infer as to
 - a Nature of the Kuklux organization?
 - b Its purposes?
 - c Its work?
- 2 Enumerate the causes, discovered above, of such an organization.
- 3 Carpet-baggers.
 - a Who were they?
 - b Enumerate their faults.
 - c Was it possible for them to do any good?

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- c* Treatment of confederate commissioners.
- d* Conduct with reference to Fort Sumter.
- 3 Effect of this position.
 - a* On the south.
 - b* On the north.

Attack on Sumter

- 1 Lincoln's last offer.
- 2 Attempt to reprovision the fort.
- 3 Attack and evacuation.
- 4 Effect on the south.
 - a* Troops called for.
 - b* Sentiment unified.
 - c* Other states go out.
- 5 Effect on the north.
 - a* Lincoln's call and the response.
 - b* Public sentiment.

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Lecture 2

LEADING MILITARY EVENTS UP TO 1863

Battle of Bull Run, July 1861

- 1 Previous skirmishes.
- 2 Leading features of battle.

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- 3 Causes of federal defeat.
- 4 Results.
 - a* Immediate and remote to each party.
 - b* Judged by the ends in view.

Breaking the confederate lines in the west, Nov. 1861—Dec. 1862

- 1 Location of first line and its means of defense.
- 2 Federal attack.
 - a* Plan and means.
 - b* Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson.
 - c* Results.
- 3 Second line of defense.
 - a* Location.
 - b* Shiloh and the fall of Corinth.
 - c* Other results.
- 4 Third line of defense.
 - a* Vicksburg; its strong position.
 - b* Grant drives Pemberton within its fortifications, Dec. 1862.

Campaign for capture of Richmond

- 1 Double purpose.
 - a* Protection of Washington.
 - b* Capture of Richmond.
- 2 Preparation.
- 3 The Peninsula campaign, March 1862—Aug. 1862.
 - a* Leading events.
 - b* Results of the movement as a whole.

Campaign against Washington, Aug.—Dec. 1862

- 1 Favorable conditions.
 - a* McClellan's retreat rouses the enthusiasm of the south.
 - b* Increase of confederate army by conscription.
 - c* Cooperating sortie in the west.
- 2 Creation of army of Virginia with Pope in command.

- 3 Second battle of Bull Run.
 - a* Lee's plan of attack.
 - b* Some features of the battle.
 - c* Why the federal troops were defeated.
 - d* Results.
- 4 Lee invades Maryland and Bragg Kentucky (Appendix B).
 - a* What they hoped to accomplish.
 - b* Harper's Ferry and Antietam.
- 5 Battle of Fredericksburg.
 - a* Circumstances leading to it.
 - b* Causes of federal defeat.
- 6 Results of the campaign.
 - a* To the south.
 - b* To the north.

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Lecture 3

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND NAVAL OPERATIONS TO 1863

Blockade of southern ports

- 1 By president's proclamation, April, 1861.
 - a* Immediately after call for militia.
 - b* Confederate privateering declared piracy.

- 2 Political significance.
 - a* International law on the point.
 - b* Contrast with closure of ports.
 - c* Contradictions involved.
- 3 The south recognized as belligerents by England and France.
 - a* Asserted Lincoln's proclamation justified it.
 - b* England's action urged by friends of America.
 - c* Effects on America.

Continental sentiment on the war

- 1 Favorable among the people of leading nations.
- 2 All governments favorable except the French.
 - a* Attitude of French emperor and his reasons.
 - b* Action of French government.

English sentiment

- 1 Against the north (Appendix C).
 - a* Commercial reasons.
 - b* Influence of slavery.
 - c* Effect of Bull Run.
 - d* Effect on the north.
- 2 Position of English government.
 - a* Charged with favoring partition of the republic.
 - b* Prime minister and Mr Gladstone.
 - c* Prince Albert and Queen Victoria.
- 3 Feeling by classes.
 - a* Upper and middle.
 - b* Laboring classes.
- 4 Newspapers.

The Trent affair (Appendix C)

- 1 The south hopes for European aid.
 - a* Agents early sent abroad.
 - b* Unofficially received English government.
 - c* Appointment of Mason and Slidell.

- 2 Capture of the Trent by the San Jacinto.
 - a* Produces joy throughout the north.
 - b* Lincoln saw the blunder.
- 3 Effects on England.
 - a* Would not wait to hear from America.
 - b* Troops sent to Canada and arms prohibited from exportation.
 - c* Queen's message and private instructions to English minister.
 - d* English press and European opinion.
- 4 Action of American authorities; effects.

England the naval base of the confederacy

- 1 Confederacy had but few home-made privateers.
 - a* Reasons.
 - b* Why it turned to England.
- 2 The Florida built at Birkenhead.
 - a* Pretense that it was for Italy.
 - b* Protests of American minister.
- 3 English shipyards built five privateers besides ironclads and rams.
- 4 The Alabama.
 - a* Her origin and work.
 - b* Capture by the Kearsarge, June 1864.
 - c* America complained that the Alabama
 - Was made in England.
 - Had an English armament.
 - Was manned by Englishmen.
 - Had artillerists in English pay.
 - Sailed under English flag.
 - Was welcomed in English ports.
 - Never saw an American harbor.
 - d* English reply: "Can not change domestic laws to please foreign nations."
 - e* America's answer.

American navy

- 1 Duties.
 - a* Maintain the blockade.
 - b* Recapture forts and attack other fortified points.
 - c* Open rivers.
 - d* Fight vessels of war.
 - e* Transport troops and supplies.
- 2 Condition in 1861.
 - a* 42 vessels, 555 guns and 7600 men.
 - b* Scattered over the globe.
- 3 Reconstruction in two departments, ocean and river.

Early naval engagements

- 1 Work of gunboats on the rivers (Feb. — Apr. 1862) at
 - a* Forts Henry and Donelson.
 - b* Island no. 10.
 - c* Memphis.
 - d* Shiloh.
- 2 Merrimac and Monitor, March 1862.
 - a* Origin of each.
 - b* First day's work at Hampton Roads.
 - c* Conflict and its results.
- 3 Capture of New Orleans, May 1862.
 - a* Importance of the place.
 - b* Confederate fortifications and other obstacles.
 - c* Federal forces and their preparation.
 - d* Passing the forts.
 - e* Surrender of the city.
 - f* Farragut moves up to Vicksburg.

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Quarterly review. See index 1861-65 for British opinion.

Lecture 4

EMANCIPATION

Motives of the north in the war

- 1 Preservation of the Union.
 - a* Motive of the masses of people.
 - b* Lincoln's primary motive.
- 2 Destruction of slavery.
 - a* Primary motive of only a few.
 - b* At best only a means when accomplished.
 - c* Reasons for this with slavery as the true cause of the war.

Northern concessions to prevent disunion

- 1 Slavery legally strongest at time of secession.
- 2 Lincoln's pledges.
- 3 Crittenden's resolution passed congress July 1861.
- 4 Wisdom of the north's position.
 - a* Held many border state men.
 - b* Prevented early dissensions in the north.

Irregular action by military authorities

- 1 General Butler declares slaves contraband, May 1861.
 - a* Circumstances.
 - b* Significance.
- 2 General Fremont's action, Aug. 1861.
 - a* Slaves of rebels declared free.
 - b* Dangers from this action.

- 3 General Hunter's declaration, May 1862.
- 4 Secretary Cameron's action, 1861.
 - a* Authorizing Sherman to use negroes in any capacity.
 - b* Declaring right of government to arm slaves.
- 5 Others' conduct.
 - a* Halleck refused slaves admission to Union lines.
 - b* Buell and Hooker allowed owners to claim them.
 - c* McClellan promised to crush slave insurrection.

Antislavery legislation of congress

- 1 Slaves used in the rebel army to be free, Aug. 1861.
 - a* How and why used in war.
 - b* Opposition to the bill and its meaning.
- 2 Army prohibited from returning slaves, March 1862.
- 3 Abolition of slavery in District of Columbia, April 1862.
 - a* Compensation to owners.
 - b* Intense opposition and its effect.
 - c* Assembling of the 30,000 negroes in their churches for thanksgiving.
- 4 Prohibition of slavery in the territories, June 1862.
 - a* Status of slavery in territories before this act.
 - b* Original bill included forts, arsenals, dockyards, etc.
 - c* Amended to appease opponents.
- 5 Employment of colored soldiers, July 1862.
 - a* Immediate cause, defeat in the Peninsula campaign.
 - b* Freedom given to the soldier, his mother, his wife and his children.
 - c* Great indignation excited in the border states.
 - d* Administration very conservative in carrying out this provision.
 - e* Number enlisted and their work.
 - f* Position of the black soldier.
- 6 Confiscation act.
 - a* Slaves of masters in rebellion to be free.
 - b* Opposition in north and in border states.
 - c* Possible effects.

President Lincoln's early antislavery acts

- 1 Attitude toward measures of congress.
 - a* More conservative and conciliatory than congress.
 - b* Did not force execution of all the above acts.
- 2 Lincoln's position as shown in his inaugural and in his letters to Greeley and Bancroft.
- 3 Colonization proposed; first annual message.
 - a* Met with little favor in congress ; reasons.
 - b* Voted \$100,000 to colonize blacks of District of Columbia.
- 4 Compensated emancipation proposed.
 - a* Intended for border states ; reasons.
 - b* Attitude of these states ; cause.
 - c* Interview with border state congressmen.
 - d* Why not adopted.

Emancipation

- 1 Urged upon Lincoln early.
 - a* Classes demanding it.
 - b* Why the president waited (Appendix D).
- 2 Lincoln begins to consider a preliminary proclamation.
 - a* Suggested by failure of border state policy.
 - b* Communications with Seward and Wells, July 13, 1862.
 - c* Preliminary proclamation before the cabinet, July 22, 1862.
 - d* Why postponed.
- 3 Proclamation, Sept. 23, 1862.
 - a* Immediate cause.
 - b* Nature and scope.
- 4 Immediate effects.
 - a* Action of governors and congressmen.
 - b* "Divided the north and united the south."
- 5 The final proclamation.
 - a* Its nature.
 - b* Effects on foreign nations.
 - c* Effects on the south.
 - d* Expectation of the negroes.

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Lecture 5

POLITICS OF 1861-62

The north a political unit in spring and summer of 1861

- 1 Causes fusing political thought and feelings.
 - a The south's refusal of all accommodation.
 - b Patriotic stand of Douglas.
 - c Evidences of wide-spread conspiracy.
 - d Attack on Fort Sumter.
 - e Wise policy of the new administration.
- 2 Effects of political harmony.
 - a Army filled promptly.
 - b Treasury filled.
 - c Lost time made up.
 - d Favorable impression abroad.

Germs of political differences

- 1 Effect of the passion for the Union.
 - a Temporarily covers up old prejudices.
 - b But details of legislation and administration restore them.

- 2 Illogical position of war against secession only, and its political consequences.

37th congress

- 1 Gave the administration good working majority.
 - a* Elected in 1860.
 - b* Majority increased by secession.
- 2 Party divisions and leaders.
 - a* Extreme radicals, leaders.
 - b* Moderate republicans, leaders.
 - c* Moderate democrats, leaders.
 - d* Extreme opponents of administration.
- 3 Causes of congressional differences.
 - a* Original political differences.
 - b* Legislation concerning slavery (Appendix E).
 - c* Financial and other war measures.

Differentiation of sentiment among the people

- 1 Extreme antislavery men.
 - a* Opposed to president's moderate policy.
 - b* Number, leaders and influence.
- 2 Moderate republicans and war democrats.
 - a* Constituted majority of northern people.
 - b* Furnished majority of volunteers.
 - c* War democrats furnished majority of army officers.
- 3 Moderate democrats.
 - a* Peculiar attitude toward the rebellion.
 - b* Sided with McClellan against Lincoln.
 - c* Afterward became "peace" democrats.
- 4 Copperheads.
 - a* "Northern men with southern principles."
 - b* Where strongest; causes.
 - c* How they hindered the war.
 - d* Feeling toward them.

General issues of campaign of 1862

- 1 Really a choice between nationality and slavery.
 - a* Majority of people hardly conscious of this.
 - b* How it became the issue.
- 2 How the opposition stated the issue.
 - a* An abolition war.
 - b* Administration deceiving the people.

Campaigns in various states

- 1 Northern border states.
 - a* Aggressive platform of democracy.
Opposition to an abolition war.
Appeals to race prejudice.
 - b* Position of the republicans.
 - c* Significance of the positions taken.
- 2 In the Empire state.
 - a* Democratic platform and nomination.
Avoided extreme views.
Cited Crittenden resolution.
Pledged support to legitimate war measures.
Seymour for governor.
Significance of this work.
 - b* Republican platform and nomination.
Strong support of war policy.
General Wadsworth nominated.

Election results

- 1 Immediate.
 - a* Republicans defeated in five great states.
Extent.
Significance.
 - b* New England stands by the administration but with reduced majorities.
 - c* Border states save the administration and save the nation. Why they did.
 - d* Republican majority in house of representatives reduced to about 20.

2 Indirect effects.

- a* Emboldened opposition to the war.
- b* Talk of foreign mediation (Appendix G).
- c* President Lincoln and Governor Seymour.

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Lecture 6

THE YEAR 1863

Depression of the north in spring of 1863

- 1 Deepest during the war.
- 2 Causes.
 - a* Failure to suppress the rebellion.
 - b* Military reverses.
 - c* Growing financial burdens.
 - d* Elections of 1862.
- 3 Effects.
 - a* Growing desire for peace.
 - b* Increase of organized opposition.

Case of Vallandigham

- 1 His opposition in congress.
- 2 Speech at Mt Vernon, Ohio.
 - a* Occasion.
 - b* Nature and effects.
- 3 Arrest by military authority.
 - a* Trial and sentence.
 - b* Habeas corpus denied.

- 4 Agitation for his release (Appendix F).
 - a* Public meetings.
 - b* Albany resolutions and Lincoln's answer.
 - c* Ohio committee and the president's conditions.
 - d* Transfer south and visit to Canada.
- 5 Results.
 - a* Nominated for governor of Ohio.
 - b* Accepted leader of organized opposition to the war.

Draft of 1863

- 1 Nature of the law.
- 2 Necessity for the draft.
 - a* Falling off in volunteering.
 - b* Decrease of forces in the field.
 - c* Troops needed to hold captured places.
- 3 Opposition.
 - a* In congress.
 - b* Among the people.

New York riots, July 13, 1863

- 1 Causes.
 - a* General opposition to the draft.
 - b* Lee's invasion.
 - c* Powerful opposition of Governor Seymour.
- 2 The riot and its effects.

Military situation at the opening of 1863

- 1 Total strength of Union armies, 800,000.
- 2 Position of the various armies.

Capture of Vicksburg

- 1 Significance of the place.
- 2 Its defenses.
- 3 Some features of the attack and siege.
- 4 Surrender and its consequences.

Operations in vicinity of Charleston

- 1 Leading military events.
- 2 Leading naval events.

Confederate sortie northward

1 Causes.

- a* Repeated northern defeats.
- b* Demoralization of army of the Potomac.
- c* Agitations for peace and threats of riots.
- d* Demand of southern politicians.

2 Purpose of the campaign.

- a* To break into middle states.
- b* To dictate peace in Philadelphia or New York.

3 Condition and position of the two armies.

4 Movements northward.

5 Battle of Gettysburg.

- a* Some of its features.
- b* Why it was fought.

6 Results.

Army of the Cumberland

1 Origin and relation to other armies.

2 Bragg's sortie into Kentucky in 1862.

- a* Relation to Lee's movement.
- b* Ostensible and real purposes.
- c* Leading events and results.

3 Battle of Chickamauga, Sept. 1863.

- a* Connecting movements.
- b* The battle.
- c* Results.

4 Reorganization of forces in the west.

- a* Reasons found in preceding campaigns.
- b* Grant placed in charge; his generals.

5 Siege of Chattanooga.

- a* Relative forces.
- b* Hooker's troops transferred from the Rapidan.
- c* Longstreet sent to relieve Knoxville.
- d* Arrival of Grant, supply routes opened.
- e* Sherman moves from Vicksburg to Chattanooga.
- f* Battle and its results, Nov. 1863.

6 Sherman hastens to relieve Burnside at Knoxville.

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- — (see Cent. 37 (1888-89): 917-32; 38: 123-48).

Lecture 7

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM

Condition of treasury at opening of war

- 1 Deficit in 1861.
 - a Over \$20,000,000 per year.
 - b Debt increased during Buchanan's administration.
 - c Causes.
- 2 Results.

Early congressional expedients

- 1 Small loans on short time.
 - a \$10,000,000 at 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ %, Jan. 1861.
 - b \$25,000,000 authorized, only \$18,000,000 obtained at nearly 9%, Feb. 1861.
 - c Authorized \$12,000,000 for 60 days and \$22,000,000 for two years, March 1861.
- 2 Why only pressing needs were met.

Morrill tariff

- 1 Purpose and nature.
 - a To meet deficit.
 - b Increase of from 19 to 36% on dutiable articles.
- 2 Effects.

Secretary Chase's report and action of congress

- 1 Estimate for first fiscal year over \$300,000,000.
- 2 Means of revenue.
 - a* \$240,000 by loans.
 - b* \$80,000,000 by taxation: by
Increase of tariff articles.
Direct tax.
Internal revenue.
- 3 Results.
 - a* Opposition among taxpayers.
 - b* Taxes were short \$30,000,000 at end of first year.
 - c* Loans reached nearly \$200,000,000 by Dec. 1861.

Suspension of specie payment, 1861

- 1 Immediate causes.
 - a* Evidences of a prolonged war.
 - b* Secretary's report of increasing expenditures and diminishing returns.
 - c* Drain of gold.
- 2 Results.

Establishment of a national currency

- 1 Causes of the legal tender act.
 - a* Dangers from suspension of specie payment.
 - b* Failure to negotiate loans with Europe.
 - c* Discontent for lack of pay in the army.
- 2 Spaulding's bill, Dec. 1861.
 - a* \$150,000,000 of treasury notes.
 - b* Legal tender, except for duties on imports and interest on the public debt.
 - c* Notes changeable into bonds.
- 3 Arguments against the bill.
 - a* Violated obligation of contracts, therefore unconstitutional.
 - b* Declaration of bankruptcy.
 - c* Legal tender quality will not protect the soldier.

4 Arguments for the bill.

- a* General ground of necessity.
- b* No other method could obtain the money so easily.
- c* Banks had about exhausted their ability to furnish money.
- d* Government ought not to discriminate between the soldier and capitalist.
- e* Preponderance of financiers favor it.

5 Results.

- a* Worked so well that larger issues were authorized.
- b* Revival in trade.
- c* Helped save elections of 1862.

Internal revenue system

- 1 Insufficiency of legal tender act.
 - a* Value only temporary.
 - b* Promises must be met.
- 2 Preceding acts of internal taxation.
- 3 Act of July 1862.
 - a* Hardly anything escaped.
 - b* Raised almost \$1,000,000 each day.
 - c* Put credit of the nation on a safe basis.

National finances and state banks

- 1 Attitude of state banks.
 - a* Generally cooperated with administration.
 - b* Refused to receive demand notes on deposit.
 - c* This refusal hastened legal tender act.
- 2 How legal tender act hastened national banking system.
 - a* Greenbacks had become popular.
 - b* National taxes required in legal tender paper.
 - c* Tax collectors personally responsible for money deposited with banks.
 - d* Bonds seemed to furnish a secure basis for the system.

National banking system, Feb. 1863

- 1 Introduced by Senator Sherman.
- 2 Leading points.
 - a* Uniform notes of equal value.
 - b* National bonds deposited for redemption of bank notes.
 - c* Possible for state banks to become national banks.
- 3 Sherman's arguments.
 - a* Would furnish a market for government bonds.
 - b* Would take place of state bank circulation.
 - c* Create community of interests between stockholders, the people and the government.
 - d* Safeguards against counterfeiting.
 - e* Uniform currency instead of one from 1600 different banks with its 1800 imitations and over 3,000 alterations.
 - f* Necessary to maintain our nationality.
- 3 Opposition.
 - a* Voted in senate by two majority.
 - b* Majority in house, 14.
- 4 Results of the system.

Cost of the war

- 1 Above were mostly modes of carrying debts.
- 2 National debt.
- 3 Debts of states.
- 4 Other expenditures.
 - a* By organizations.
 - b* By individuals.
- 5 Destruction of property.
 - a* Directly by war.
 - b* Indirectly by deranging trade and industry.
- 6 Grand total indicates what patriotism was willing to pay for the Union.

References

- Blaine. Twenty years of congress, v. 1, p. 396-487.
Draper. History of the American civil war, v. 2, p. 549-76; v. 3, p. 491-97.
Nicolay and Hay. Abraham Lincoln, v. 3, p. 238-44; v. 6, p. 223-52.
——— (see Cent. 37 (1888-89): 553-59).
Wilson, Woodrow. Division and reunion, p. 220-21, 232-33.

Lecture 8

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF 1864

Questions involved

- 1 Shall Lincoln's moderate policy be sustained?
 - a Radical republicans answered "no".
 - b Peace democrats answered "no".
 - c Other men said "yes".
- 2 Danger from republican dissatisfaction.
 - a If radicals should succeed.
 - b If peace democrats should win.

Republican opposition to president

- 1 Arose from two sources.
 - a Antislavery men.
 - b Disgruntled politicians.
- 2 Grew stronger each year of war up to 1864.

President Lincoln's attitude toward advisers

- 1 Cabinet members.
 - a Cabinet meetings informal.
 - b Neither the cabinet nor any member dictated the policy of the administration.
 - c Effect of this on Chase and others.
- 2 Members of congress and other officials.
 - a Gave much good advice and expected it to be followed.
 - b Angry when the president followed out his own ideas.
 - c Extent of dissatisfaction.

Chase's campaign for the nomination

- 1 Logical leader of the radical element.
 - a* An antislavery leader before the war.
 - b* Center of radical agitation in the administration.
 - c* Successful head of most important cabinet position.
- 2 The secretary's efforts in his own behalf.
- 3 Congressional committee.
 - a* To promote his nomination, Jan. 1864.
 - b* Leading members.
 - c* The Pomeroy circular and its effects.
- 4 Ohio demands Lincoln's renomination and Chase withdraws from the canvass.

Cleveland convention

- 1 Origin.
 - a* New York and St Louis the centers of the movement.
 - b* The call favored by malcontents in other places.
- 2 Purpose.
 - a* Nomination of an anti-Lincoln candidate.
 - b* Reform in the administration.
- 3 The convention itself.
 - a* Well reported by democratic papers.
 - b* Various names discussed.
 - c* Fremont and Cochran nominated.
 - d* Effect on the country.

Renomination of Lincoln

- 1 The people almost universally demanded his renomination.
 - a* Voted by state legislatures and state conventions.
 - b* Called for by county and ward conventions.
 - c* Many organizations in all portions of the country resolved for it.
 - d* Even the politicians joined in the demand.
- 2 Reasons.

- 3 Baltimore convention, June 1864.
 - a* Failure to secure a postponement; significance.
 - b* Expectation of the people and of the delegates.
 - c* The platform and the renomination of Lincoln (Appendix H).
 - d* Struggle over the vice-president and the results.

Wade-Davis manifesto

- 1 Its nature and purpose.
- 2 Relation to the campaign.

Chicago convention, Aug. 29, 1864

- 1 Postponement of meeting.
 - a* Intended for July 4.
 - b* Reasons for postponement.
 - c* Events justifying it.
- 2 Effects on the republicans.
 - a* Nothing definite to oppose from June till September.
 - b* Greatly depressed the leaders.
 - c* Lincoln's pledge in case of defeat; significance.
- 3 Platform (Appendix H).
 - a* Its leading points.
 - b* Victory for the peace element.
- 4 Candidates.
 - a* McClellan's friends early in the field.
 - b* Nominated without formidable opposition.
 - c* Pendleton of Ohio for vice-president.

McClellan's letter of acceptance (Appendix H)

- 1 Written after the fall of Atlanta.
- 2 Repudiates some leading points in the platform.
- 3 Vallandigham criticizes the candidate.

The campaign

- 1 Becomes aggressive after Chicago convention.
 - a* War party now has something to attack.
 - b* General Fremont withdraws; significance.

- 2 Intense party feeling.
 - a* On account of declarations of peace element.
 - b* Because of activity of southern sympathizers.
- 3 Rising tide for Lincoln.
 - a* Divisions among the opposition.
 - b* Repeated victories for the Union arms.
- 4 September and October states.
- 5 Result.
 - a* Popular majority for Lincoln, over 400,000.
 - b* Electoral vote 212 to 21.
 - c* Defeat of Governor Seymour.
 - d* Effect on Lincoln.
 - e* Lessons of the struggle.

References

- Blaine. Twenty years of congress, v. 1, p. 513-32.
 Draper. History of the American civil war, v. 3, p. 470-79.
 Greeley. American conflict, v. 2, p. 654-77.
 Morse. Abraham Lincoln, v. 2, p. 246-315.
 Nicolay and Hay. Abraham Lincoln, v. 8, p. 309-25; v. 9, p. 29-127, 244-62, 351-84.
 ——— (see Cent. 38 (1889): 278-98, 406-26, 546-51, 692-702).

Lecture 9

COLLAPSE OF THE CONFEDERACY

Lieutenant-General Grant and his work

- 1 Position created by congress, Feb. 1864.
 - a* Conditions of acceptance.
 - b* Sherman takes charge of western forces.
- 2 Strength of armies.
 - a* Number of each; significance.
 - b* Position of each; meaning.
- 3 Leading events in Virginia and their results, May-March, 1865.
 - a* The wilderness.
 - b* Spottsylvania.

- c* The North Anna.
- d* Cold Harbor.
- e* Petersburg and Early's sortie.
- f* Siege of Richmond.

Farragut in Mobile bay, Jan.-Aug. 1864

- 1 Defenses of the confederates.
- 2 Farragut's fleet and fight.
- 3 Results.

Sherman's campaigns, May 1864-April 1865

- 1 Capture of Atlanta.
 - a* Contributory events.
 - b* Significance.
- 2 March to the sea.
 - a* Purpose and character.
 - b* Effects.
- 3 Hood's sortie.
 - a* Causes and purpose.
 - b* Battles of Franklin and Nashville.
 - c* Hood's disastrous retreat and its meaning.
- 4 Sherman's return through the Carolinas.
 - a* Kept reinforcements from Lee.
 - b* Broke the spirit of the Carolinians.

Last movements, March-April 1865

- 1 Purpose of Lee.
 - a* To evacuate Richmond.
 - b* To join General Johnston.
- 2 Purpose of Grant.
 - a* To prevent junction of Lee and Johnston.
 - b* To force Lee to surrender.
- 3 Leading events.
 - a* Battles around Richmond.
 - b* General assault on Lee's lines.
 - c* Evacuation of Richmond.

Appomattox

- 1 Terms of surrender.
 - a* Preliminary conference.
 - b* The agreement and its significance.
- 2 The surrender.
 - a* Some scenes and their significance.
 - b* Effects.

Johnston's surrender to Sherman

- 1 First meeting.
 - a* Sought by Johnston.
 - b* Sherman's offers. Grant's terms to Lee.
 - c* Some scenes.
- 2 Delay in arrangements.
 - a* Johnston proposes surrender of remaining forces.
 - b* Basis of peace agreed to.
 - c* Repudiated by government.
- 3 Final arrangements.

Assassination of Lincoln

Grand review

References

- Draper. History of the American civil war, v. 3, p. 264-417, 521-634.
 Greeley. American conflict, v. 2, p. 562-98, 625-84, 677-759.
 Nicolay and Hay. Abraham Lincoln, v. 8, p. 326-407; v. 9, p. 1-28, 158-83, 222-43, 263-331, 403-35, 464-96; v. 10, p. 1-37, 148-302.

Inside view of the confederacy

- 1 Started with advantages.
 - a* Organization completed before Lincoln's inaugural.
 - b* Militia organized in 1860 and early in 1861.
 - c* Early favorable impression on Europe.
 - d* The south expected too much of Europe.

- 2 Compelled to abandon state sovereignty.
 - a* Great principle for use of the opposition but a poor one for the administration.
 - b* Causes and results of this change.
- 3 Confederate congress a committee of public safety.
 - a* Held secret sessions; advantages and dangers.
 - b* Seized telegraph lines early in war.
 - c* Banished alien enemies and confiscated the property.
 - d* First conscription, April 1862; significance.
 - e* Voted to sustain Davis' retaliatory measures.
 - f* Davis vetoed more bills of the provisional congress than all the presidents from Washington to Lincoln.
 - g* The "Debating society on Capitol hill."
- 4 Suppression of public opinion (Appendix J).
 - a* Slaveholders always resented criticism.
 - b* Anti-secession sentiment early suppressed.
 - c* Imprisonment without trial of suspected persons.
- 5 Financial depression.
 - a* Bonds at first in London sold before Union bonds.
 - b* Currency fell from \$120 in 1861 to \$6000 in 1865.
- 6 Military exhaustion and decay of military spirit (Appendix I).
 - a* Conscription again, July 1863; between 18 and 45.
 - b* Davis appeals to women for aid in filling up ranks.
 - c* Dec. 1863, another conscription, 18 to 55, under pain of desertion.
 - d* Secretary of war reported from one third to one fourth of men absent.
 - e* Dec. 1863, substitutes refused.
 - f* Feb. 1865, all men must serve in army or raise supplies.
 - g* Again in 1865 all men between 17 and 55 liable to service.
 - h* 60,000 Virginians were deserters.
 - i* Driven to propose arming negroes; significance.

- 7 Condition of the armies at surrender.
- 8 Who deceived the people of the south.
 - a* Work of the clergy.
 - b* Davis and the politicians.
 - c* Work and responsibility of the press.

References

- Draper. Civil war in America, v. 3, p. 479-90.
 Nicolay and Hay. Abraham Lincoln, v. 10, p. 148-57.
 Pollard. The lost cause, ch. 42.

Lecture 10

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH

The constitutional question

- 1 What is the real nature of the American union?
 - a* If a confederacy, what then?
 - b* If a federal union, what then?
 - c* If a nation, what then?
- 2 Attitude of men and parties.

Creation of West Virginia

- 1 Ancient feud between the parts of the Old Dominion.
- 2 Circumstances attending the split.
- 3 Admission of West Virginia.
 - a* Constitutional question involved.
 - b* Arguments for and against.
 - c* Results.

Lincoln's ideas of reconstruction

- 1 "The union of these states is perpetual, hence
 - a* No state. . . can lawfully get out of the Union."
 - b* The rights of the citizens of states in rebellion were not revoked but only interfered with.
 - c* When the insurrection ceases, all loyal citizens resume their former rights and privileges.

- 2 Military governors.
- 3 Proclamation of amnesty, Dec. 1863.
 - a* Was based on president's pardoning power.
 - b* Required an oath to support the constitution and the Union.
 - c* Abide by laws and proclamations concerning slavery.
 - d* Conditions on which the state governments were to obtain recognition.

Opposition to the president's plan

- 1 Causes, fundamental and particular.
- 2 Bill passed by congress, July 1864.
 - a* White male citizens to elect a convention for re-establishing state organization.
 - b* New organization required to disfranchise confederate leaders, abolish slavery and repudiate confederate debt.
 - c* After congress agreed to work of the convention the president was to recognize the state.
- 3 The pocket veto.
 - a* Reasons and their significance.
 - b* Effects.

13th amendment

- 1 Nature and necessity.
- 2 Opposition and defeat, June 1864.
- 3 An issue in the presidential campaign.
- 4 Reintroduction and passage by aid of democratic votes.
- 5 Scenes in congress and at the White house.

President Johnson's work during the recess of congress

- 1 Principle of his policy.
- 2 Work during summer and fall of 1865.
 - a* An amnesty proclamation.
 - b* Appointed provisional governors.
 - c* Senators and representatives elected.

Legislation of the reconstructed states

- 1 Had accepted the 13th amendment.
- 2 Laws affecting the negroes.
 - a* Labor contracts.
 - b* Vagrancy.
 - c* Apprentice system for minors.
 - d* Written contracts or the license system.
- 3 Causes.
- 4 Effects.
 - a* On the south.
 - b* On the north.

Breach between congress and the president

- 1 Causes.
 - a* President's plan of reconstruction.
 - b* Attitude of the south toward the negro.
 - c* Temper and talk of the president.
 - d* Radical temper of congress.
- 2 Congressional retaliation.
 - a* Committee of 15 to investigate the south.
 - b* No congressmen yet from the south.
 - c* Extends power of Freedmen's bureau; vetoed.
 - d* Civil rights bill; vetoed.

Congressional reconstruction

- 1 14th amendment.
 - a* Nature and purpose.
 - b* Effect on the south.
- 2 Tenure of office act, and act to augment Grant's authority.
 - a* Nature and purpose.
 - b* Relation to reconstruction.
- 3 Great reconstruction act, March 1867.
 - a* The five military districts.
 - b* Governed by generals; their power.

- c* The process.
 - Enrol voters.
 - Elect delegates to state convention.
 - Frame constitution giving franchise to enrolled voters.
 - Constitution submitted to same voters.
 - Constitution sent to congress for approval.
 - Representatives admitted as soon as 14th amendment was ratified.
- 4 15th amendment; nature, purpose and effects, 1870.
- 5 Freedmen's bureau.
 - a* Origin and nature.
 - b* Work and its effects.

Effects of congressional reconstruction

- 1 Impeachment of President Johnson.
 - a* Charges.
 - b* Trial.
 - c* Political effects.
- 2 "Carpet-baggers" (Appendix J).
 - a* Who they were.
 - b* What they did.
- 3 Kuklux Klan (Appendix J).
 - a* Origin and organization.
 - b* Purpose and work.
 - c* Immediate and remote effects.
- 4 Conflicts between national and state authorities.
- 5 Unsolved problems.

References

- Barnes. History of the 39th congress.
- Johnston. Representative orations, v. 3, p. 249-323.
- Letters relating to the Ku Klux Klan (*see* U. S. — House. 40th cong. 3d sess. Misc. doc. v. 1, no. 23).
- Morse. Abraham Lincoln, v. 2, p. 216-45, 316-28.
- Nicolay *and* Hay. Abraham Lincoln.
- Wilson, Woodrow. Division and reunion, p. 254-72.

THE CIVIL WAR AND SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS

APPENDIX : ORIGINAL MATERIAL

for the study of the

CIVIL WAR AND ITS PROBLEMS

A

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF THE CONSPIRATORS

(Nicolay and Hay. *Abraham Lincoln*, v. 2, p. 322-24, 326)

"While engaged in consultation with the governor (of Miss.) a telegraphic message was handed me from two members of Mr Buchanan's cabinet. . . My presence there was desired on account of the influence . . . I might exercise with the president. . . On paying my respects to the president, he told me that he had finished the rough draft of his message, but that it was still open to revision and amendment, and that he would like to read it to me. He did so and very kindly accepted all the modifications which I suggested. The message was, however, afterwards somewhat changed." — *Jefferson Davis*, Nov. 1860

"I think it likely that the president will state forcibly what he considers the grievances of the south, that he will add that he does not think . . . it wise policy for the state to adopt (secession) . . . As long as Cobb and Thompson retain seats in the cabinet, you may feel confident that no action has been taken which seriously affects the position of any southern state." — *W. H. Trescott*, Assistant Secretary of State, to T. F. Drayton, Nov. 19, 1860

"I arrived here . . . from New York where I had gone at the suggestion of Mr Floyd to engage Mr G. B. Lamar, president of the Bank of the republic, to make an offer to the secretary for such a number of muskets as we might require . . . and to-day the secretary has written to the commanding officer [at] Watervliet arsenal to deliver five or ten thousand muskets . . . to Mr Lamar's order

. . . I am very anxious to get possession of the arms
 . . . and forward them to Charleston. . . — *T. F. Drayton* to Gov. Gist of South Carolina, Washington, Nov. 23, 1860

Topics for papers

- 1 Make a list of the persons referred to and the positions held by each one.
- 2 State briefly what each was trying to do.
- 3 Draw any inferences you can from the above.
- 4 How did Secretary Floyd obtain an offer for guns? Why did he not himself offer to sell?

B

THE SOUTH'S APPEAL TO THE BORDER STATES

“ . . . The people of the confederate states have long watched with deepest sympathy the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon the citizens of a commonwealth allied to the states of the south by the strongest social, political and commercial ties, and reduced to a condition of a conquered province. . . Your citizens have been arrested and imprisoned upon no charge, and contrary to all law. . .

The government of your chief city has been usurped by armed strangers, your legislature has been dissolved by the unlawful arrest of its members; freedom of the press and of speech has been suppressed . . . and citizens ordered to be tried by military commissions for what they may dare to speak. . . The people of the south have long wished to aid you in throwing off this foreign yoke, to enable you again to enjoy the inalienable rights of freemen. . .

In obedience to this wish, our army has come among you. . . . We know no enemies among you, and will protect all of you in every opinion.

. . . While the southern people will welcome you to your natural position among them, they will only welcome you when you come of your own free will."—*Gen. Lee* to the people of Maryland, Sept. 1862

" . . . We come, not as conquerors or despoilers, but to restore to you the liberties of which you have been deprived by a relentless foe. We come to guarantee to all the sanctity of their homes and altars; to punish with a rod of iron the despoilers of your peace and to avenge the cowardly insults to your women. . . .

Believing that the heart of Kentucky is with us in our great struggle for constitutional freedom, we have transferred from our own soil to yours . . . a powerful and well disciplined army. Your gallant Buckner leads the van. Marshall is on the right, while Breckenridge . . . is advancing with Kentucky's valiant sons to receive the honor and applause due to their heroism. . . Will you remain indifferent to our call? or will you vindicate the fair fame of your once free and envied state? We believe you will. . . .

We have come with joyous hopes. Let us not depart in sorrow, as we shall, if we find you wedded . . . to your present lot. If you prefer federal rule show it by your frowns. . . .

Women of Kentucky! Your persecutions and heroic bearings have reached our ears. . . Buckle on the armor of your kindred, your husbands, sons, and brothers, and scoff with shame him who would prove recreant in his duty to you, his country and his God."—*Gen. Bragg* to the people of Kentucky, Sept. 1863

Topics for papers

1 What do you infer was the common purpose of these addresses?

2 Enumerate the common arguments the generals used.

3 How do you account for the fact that the federal government had been so hard on Maryland?

4 What does General Lee mean by Maryland and the south being allied by common ties? Were the south and the Kentuckians so allied? Explain.

5 Since Lee and Bragg did not remain long in these states, what inferences can you draw?

C

THE TRENT AFFAIR

(Nicolay and Hay. *Abraham Lincoln*, v. 5, p. 27, 28, 30, 39)

" . . . The Washington government should be told that what has been done is a violation of international law and of the rights of Great Britain, and that your Majesty's government trust that the act will be disavowed, and the prisoners set free and restored to British protection ; and that Lord Lyons should be instructed that, if this demand is refused, he should retire from the United States."— *Lord Palmerston to the Queen*

"He (Prince Albert) could eat no breakfast and looked very wretched. But still he was well enough on getting up to make a draft for me to write to Lord Russell in correction of his draft to Lord Lyons, sent me yesterday, which Albert did not approve."— *Queen's diary*

"My wish would be that at your first interview with Mr Seward you should not take my dispatch with you, but should prepare him for it and ask him to settle it with the president and the cabinet what course they will propose. The next time you should bring my dispatch and read it to him fully. If he asks what will be the consequence of his refusing compliance, I think you should say that you wish to leave him and the president quite free to take their own course, and that you desire to abstain from anything like menace."— *Lord Russell to Lord Lyons*

" . . . If I decide this case in favor of my own government I must disavow its most cherished principles, and reverse and forever abandon its essential policy . . . If I maintain those principles and adhere to that policy, I must surrender the case itself. . . The four persons in question are now held in military custody at Fort Warren . . . They will be cheerfully liberated." — *Sec. Seward to Lord Lyons*

Topics for papers

1 State the difference between the attitude of the cabinet and queen and Prince Albert toward America on account of the Trent affair.

2 Which attitude was presented to the American government? Prove your answer.

3 Why did our government surrender the prisoners?

4 To what principles and policy does Secretary Seward refer and when did our government assert them?

D

LINCOLN'S ANSWER TO GREELEY'S PRAYER

(Greeley. *American conflict*, v. 2, p. 250)

" . . . I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be the Union as it was.

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them.

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.

My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. . .

What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union ; and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the Union. . . .

I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty ; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free."

LINCOLN'S RESPONSE TO THE CHICAGO MINISTERS

"The subject presented in the memorial is one upon which I have thought much for weeks past, and I may even say for months. . . . What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? . . . Would my word free the slaves, when I can not even enforce the constitution in the rebel states? . . . Understand, I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds, for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy in time of war I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy ; nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre in the south. . . . I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves. . . . And I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do. . . ."

Topics for papers

- 1 What is meant by the expression "the Union as it was?" What class of men made it a motto? Why?
- 2 Enumerate the different views held in regard to union and slavery. Who held these views?
- 3 Try to justify Lincoln's paramount object?
- 4 What objections did Lincoln find to freeing the slaves?
- 5 As slavery was a legal institution, how could Lincoln say he had no legal objections to abolishing it?

E

BORDER STATE SENTIMENT 1861-62

(Congressional globe)

Mr Kelley of Pennsylvania — It is stated to be the purpose of a majority of this house to Africanize American society. Sir, that is not the object of any man on this floor.

Mr Wadsworth of Kentucky — We want to know of the north if they are going to unclasp the loving arms of Kentucky and fling her into that vortex which has swallowed so many kindred states? The worst course you can pursue . . . is to attempt to confiscate the slaves or other property of the inhabitants of the rebel states.

Mr Fouke of Illinois — It is true . . . that a majority of the Illinois troops . . . have been enlisted south of the centre line of the state . . . The political predilections of a majority of them from that section of the state are opposed to those of the present administration, and, while they have rallied with entire unanimity in support of the government, they are now and will ever remain unalterably opposed to bestowing their energies in a war for the emancipation of the slaves.

Mr Riddle of Ohio — The result of this war is freedom for all. Every day of its continuance, every dragging moment, makes this end the more inevitable. Every step on slave, every battle fought, no matter with what temporary result, every musket fired, every sword brandished, every soldier that suffers, and every heart that mourns, but makes this result the more absolute.

Mr Noell of Missouri — But it is the weakness of cowards . . . that now lifts up weak hands in helpless horror and raises querulous voices in feeble wails and cries for mercy to the rebels. Mercy is now treason, rape, arson, an infraction of the whole decalogue.

Mr Lane of Kansas — I deny that this government can not take the slaves of the loyal and disloyal, and that they are estopped from making any use of them that they choose for the suppression of this rebellion, and having made use of them, I say it would be a crime before God to return them to slavery.

Topics for papers

1 What was the nature of the change in the purpose of the war that some feared?

2 Enumerate the variety of sentiment prevailing among border state men. Account for this variety.

3 Does not Riddle contradict Kelley? Prove your answer.

F

LINCOLN'S REPLY TO THE ALBANY RESOLUTIONS

(Abraham Lincoln. *Complete works*; ed. by Nicolay and Hay, v. 2, p. 349, 363)

“ . . . It is asserted in substance, that Mr Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried ‘for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting in criticism of the course of the administration, and in condemnation of the military orders of the general.’ Now, if there be no mistake about this . . . if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong . . . Mr Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertion from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. . . .

I understand the meeting whose resolutions I am considering to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force — by armies. Long experience has shown that armies can not be maintained unless desertions shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the constitution sanction, this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wiley agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings till he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that, in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy. . . .”

LINCOLN'S REPLY TO THE OHIO COMMITTEE

“ . . . Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like. . . .

After a short personal intercourse with you, gentlemen of the committee, I can not say I think you desire this effect to follow your attitude; but I assure you that both friends and enemies of the Union look upon it in this light. It is a substantial hope . . . to the enemy. If it is a false hope and one which you would willingly dispel, I will make the way exceedingly easy.

I send you duplicates of this letter in order that you, or a majority of you, may, if you choose, indorse your names upon one of them and return it thus indorsed to me with the understanding that those signing are thereby committed to the following propositions and to nothing else :

1 That there is now a rebellion in the United States, the object and tendency of which is to destroy the national Union; and that, in your opinion, an army and navy are constitutional means for suppressing that rebellion;

2 That no one of you will do anything which, in his own judgment, will tend to hinder the increase, or favor the decrease, or lessen the efficiency of the army or navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress that rebellion ; and

3 That each of you will, in his sphere, do all he can to have the officers, soldiers, and seamen of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise well provided for and supported.

And with the further understanding that upon receiving the letter and names thus indorsed, I will cause them to be published, which publication shall be, within itself, a revocation of the order in relation to Mr Vallandigham."

Topics for papers

1 What was the alleged, and what was the real reason for Vallandigham's arrest ?

2 What constitutional questions did his arrest raise ?

3 Show the contradiction between the acts and the professions of the Albany meeting.

4 Show how the attitude of the Ohio committee encouraged desertions and opposition to the draft.

5 Why did the Ohio committee not sign the propositions ?

G

ENGLISH OPINION ON THE CIVIL WAR

(*Blackwood's magazine*, v. 91, p. 129-30, Jan. 1862)

"The questions of the recognition of the southern confederacy and the raising of the ineffectual blockade, in conjunction with France, are entitled to be immediately considered. As it is, our neutrality tells against the south. . . . If we are . . . certain of the captiousness and hostility of the north, let us at least do something to secure the friendship of the south.

And the south, so far as can be seen, deserve recognition, independence, and sympathy. Their only crime has been a desire to take no further part in a system to which not even

the letter, far less the spirit, of the law can prove that they were bound by any principle stronger than convenience, and the operation of which they declare to have been intolerably oppressive. It is natural that they should object to accept an Abraham Lincoln as their chief man, and to have their destinies influenced by such a cabinet and mob as that of the north, when, as they have shown, they can do so much better for themselves. They have chosen as president a man of judgment and conduct, who can give to their impulses unity of action, and can both excite and control their enthusiasm. . . . A war between England and the north will, at least, have the good effects of shortening the sufferings and hastening the independence of a people who are proving themselves very capable of self-government, who will at once assume a creditable position among nations, and who will act as a permanent check on northern turbulence. And it is to be hoped that if war it is to be, we may put our whole strength and will into it, and conduct it so as to leave the orators and writers of the north . . . no possibility of turning its incidents to our disadvantage and to their own glorification."

(*Blackwood's magazine*, v. 91, p. 533, Apr. 1862)

"After the strong expression of the opinion of this country respecting the policy of interference, it is not likely that anything but the progress of events can avail to alter our course. . . . If it (the north) must (fail to subdue the south), we entirely agree that it will be better for the south, for us and for the north, that the contest should be decided without foreign interference."

(Johnston. *Representative American orations*, v. 3, p. 213-42)

" . . . But I do say that your own children . . . ought to be nearer to you than any people of a strange tongue (a voice: 'Degenerate sons,' applause and hisses; another voice: 'What about the Trent?') If there had been any feelings of bitterness in America, let me tell you, they had been excited, rightly or wrongly, under the

impression that Great Britain was going to intervene between us and our lawful struggle (a voice: 'No!' and applause). With the evidence that there is no such intention all bitter feeling will pass away (applause) . . . and we say that the utterance of Lord Russell at Blairgowrie (applause, hisses, and a voice: 'What about Lord Brougham?'), together with the declaration of the government in stopping war-steamers here (great uproar, and applause) has gone far toward quieting every fear and removing every apprehension from our minds (uproar and shouts of applause) . . . And although I am in spirit perfectly willing to answer any question, and more than glad of the chance, yet I am by this very unnecessary opposition to-night incapacitated physically from doing it."—*Henry Ward Beecher*, at Liverpool, Eng. Oct. 1863

Topics for papers

- 1 Enumerate the arguments in the first extract in favor of recognizing the confederacy.
- 2 Compare the second extract with the first and draw inferences.
- 3 What conclusions can you draw from a study of the extract from Beecher's speech?

H

EXTRACTS BEARING ON THE RESTORATION OF THE UNION

"In my correspondence with Mr Lincoln, that functionary has always spoken of the United States and the confederacy as 'Our afflicted country;' but, in my replies, I have never failed to refer to them as separate and distinct governments; and, sooner than we should ever be united again, I would be willing to yield up every thing I have on earth, and, if it were possible, would sacrifice my life a thousand times before I would succumb."—*Jefferson Davis*, Feb. 1865

"That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer them any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the constitution and the laws of the United States.

That, as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic."—*Republican platform*, 1864

"That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the union under the constitution, as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the states, both northern and southern.

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of a war power higher than the constitution, the constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of the states. . . .

Resolved, That the aim and object of the democratic party is to preserve the federal union and the rights of the states unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the constitution, the sub-

version of the civil by military law in states not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence, of American citizens in states where civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of state rights, the employment of unusual test oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed."

—*Democratic platform*, 1864

"The reestablishment of the Union, in all its integrity, is and must continue to be the indispensable condition in any settlement. So soon as it is clear, or even probable, that our present adversaries are ready for peace upon the basis of the Union, we should exhaust all the resources of statesmanship practised by civilized nations and taught by the traditions of the American people, consistent with the honor and interests of the country, to secure such peace, reestablish the Union, and guarantee for the future the constitutional rights of every state. The Union is the one condition of peace. We ask no more. . . I could not look in the face my gallant comrades of the army and navy who have survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren had been in vain—that we had abandoned that Union for which we have so often periled our lives. A vast majority of our people, whether in the army and navy, or at home, would, as I would, hail with unbounded joy the permanent restoration of peace on the basis of the Union under the constitution, without the effusion of another drop of blood; but *no peace can be permanent without union*. . ."—*Gen. McClellan*, Letter of acceptance

Topics for papers

1 State the differences between the above extracts with reference to the way in which the Union was to be restored.

2 Keeping in mind the position of Davis, which of the other methods of restoration were possible? Why?

3 Enumerate the causes, given in the democratic platform, which tend to prevent a restoration of the Union. Do they? Reasons for your answer.

I

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF A REBEL WAR CLERK

"To-day, I saw two conscripts from western Virginia conducted to the cars going to Lee's army *in chains*. It made a chill shoot through my breast.

Lee writes that the Bureau of conscription fails to replenish the army. The rich men and slave owners get out and keep out of the service. Nearly every landed proprietor has given bonds to furnish meal to obtain exemption. Over 100,000 landed proprietors, and most of the slave owners, are now out of the ranks, and soon, I fear, we shall have an army that will not fight, having nothing to fight for. The higher class is staying at home making money, the lower is thrust into the trenches. Lee complains that the rich young men are elected magistrates to avoid service in the field. Guards everywhere in the city are arresting pedestrians, and forcing them into the army. The militia are all out except those hidden in the back rooms of their shops. . . . Colonel Gardner reports that of the citizens taken from the streets to the front last week, a majority have deserted — that despotic order is the theme of universal execration. Brigadier-General Preston, of the Bureau of conscription, says there are now 100,000 deserters. . . . The books of the conscript office show a frightful list of deserters — 60,000 Virginians. . . . The poor men in the army can get nothing for their families, and there is a prospect of their starving. I saw a

captain commissary give his dog a piece of beef for which I would have paid a dollar. Many little children of soldiers were standing by with empty baskets. A poor woman yesterday applied to a merchant in Carey street to purchase a barrel of flour. The price he demanded was \$70. 'My God!' exclaimed she, 'how can I pay such prices? I have seven children. What shall I do?' 'I don't know, madam,' said he, coolly, 'unless you eat your children!'

DESPOTISM OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

(Johnston and Browne. *Life of A. H. Stephens*)

"I am satisfied that I can do no good here. . . I have strong inclinations to resign. . . I shall do nothing hastily or rashly, but I can never approve doctrines and principles which are likely to become fixed in this country. . . If this bill passes (bill to suspend writ of habeas corpus). . . I do trust that Governor Brown will issue his proclamation advising the justices of the inferior courts to disregard it until the matter may be adjudicated by our own supreme court. If that court shall decide the act to be constitutional, I shall feel very little further interest in the result of the conflict. It will simply be a contest between dynasties — a struggle between two powers,— not for rights or constitutional liberty, but for despotism."— *Vice-Pres. Stephens*, Dec. 1864

Topics for papers

- 1 What was the fundamental cause of frequent and severe conscriptions in the south?
- 2 What reasons exempted one from conscription?
- 3 Enumerate motives of different classes for desertion or exemption.
- 4 What proofs do you find that this was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight?"
- 5 What do you infer from the extract from Vice-President Stephens?

J

THE KUKLUX KLAN

[U. S. — House. 42d cong. 2d sess. *Report of committee*, no. 22 pt. 1, p. 23, 48)

Presentment of U. S. grand jury, Columbia, S. C.

“ . . . That there has existed since 1868 . . . an organization known as the ‘Kuklux Klan’ or ‘Invisible empire of the south,’ which embraces in its membership a large proportion of the white population of every profession and class. . .

I, (name) before the immaculate Judge of Heaven and Earth, and upon the holy evangelists of almighty God, do, of my own free will and accord, subscribe to the following sacredly binding obligation.

1 We are on the side of justice, humanity, and constitutional liberty, as bequeathed to us in its purity by our forefathers.

2 We oppose and reject the principles of the radical party.

3 We pledge mutual aid to each other in sickness, distress, and pecuniary embarrassment.

4 . . . Any member divulging, or causing to be divulged, any of the foregoing obligations, shall meet the fearful penalty and traitor’s doom, which is Death! Death! Death!

. . . That the Klan . . . inflicted summary vengeance on the colored citizens of these countries, by breaking into their houses at the dead of night, dragging them from their beds, torturing them in the most inhuman manner, and in many instances murdering them; and this, mainly, on account of their political affiliations.”

Testimony of James M. Justice, native of North Carolina

“He (the chief of the Klan) then commenced telling how mean I had been in supporting the republican party, and advocating principles that gave negroes the right to vote

and hold office, and asked me if I did not know that the constitution, as they had it before negroes were free, was better . . . 'and we are going to kill all men like you who advocate and support any such government or constitution. . . I have come here to-night with positive orders to take your life ; it has been decreed in camp.' "

THE CARPET-BAGGERS

Testimony of Gen. James H. Clanton, Alabama

"If a man should come there and invest \$100,000, and in the next year should seek the highest office by appealing to the basest prejudices of an ignorant race, we would call him a political carpet-bagger. But if he followed his legitimate business . . . behaved himself . . . we should call him a gentleman. Gen. Warner bought land. . . Before his seat in Ohio had got cold he was running the negro machine among us to put himself in office. . . But he came just after, if not before, his senatorial term in Ohio expired, and by ring, in with the negroes, attained that position."

Testimony of Gen. Wright, Georgia

"They (negroes) were taken possession of by a class of men . . . in some way connected with the Freedmen's bureau; they swarmed all over the country. They made the negroes believe that unless they banded themselves together . . . the white people would put them back into slavery. . . Up to the latter part of 1868 that by voting they were going to get a division of the land and stock of the country. These carpet-baggers would go down there and actually sell stakes to them . . . but these rascals would . . . sell painted stakes to these negroes, and tell them that all they had to do was to put down the stakes on their owners' farms, and 40 acres of land would be theirs after the election."